anything made of iron—nor can a gun shoot him, nor an arrow pierce him. If he goes through a thicket of thorns or climbs a thorny palm tree when the spirit comes to him, he is not harmed. That is Kromanti."

"How much does a person pay an obia man for giving a boy Kromanti?" we asked.

"It costs plenty, white man. But a good obia man never asks too much. If a man says he will give the boy Kromanti, for not too many guilders, then we know he will do it. But if a man asks forty, fifty, then we know he is not an honest man, and he is not a good man. I have heard, though, of a good obia man who took as much as twenty-four guilders, but he gave the boy a strong Kromanti spirit, and it took much time to teach him."

3

From time to time members of Bayo's family visited our camp. Each time we were introduced to a new brother, or father, or *swagi*—brother-in-law. Among these visitors was a man whose name we never learned, though we had talked with him a good deal. He was, we later came to know, a man who knew obia. He was a scholar among his people, a thoughtful man who often went about alone, instead of being accompanied by a fellow clan member or a member of his family, as is customary among these people. Like Bayo, he had an incest kunu, and at his age, he had already had occasion to see what kunu planned for him. He coughed badly. When men went to cut timber, he could not go with them because of his cough and the fever which went with the cough.

"Have you been to a good obia man?" we asked him.

He smiled. Of what use to go from one diviner to the next, from one man who had special magic to another, when a man knew that what was troubling him was kunu?

"Come to the city with us," we said, when we knew him better, "and we will take you to a doctor. He may be able to do something for you."

/188 cont./

	Fintiman	Kéfemeni	Aïdi	Doni
... kinds of articles of value	4 = 14,800 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr
Cases of soap (1,000 fr.)	4 = 4,000 fr	3 = 3,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr
[illegible]	1 = 1,000	nothing	nothing	nothing
Bags beans	2 = 1,800	—	—	—
Sugar, kilograms	10 = 1,000	—	—	—
Sugar cane	2,000	—	—	—
	25,600 fr	6,700 fr	4,700 fr	4,700 fr

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/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
281 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
289 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
196 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
536 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[848] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general [152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy, and of fear, which characterizes the Dahomey cults of possession is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
789 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.
[434]

Having a Kumfoyi amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000 francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher; [181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not, for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come back to this important point later.

/251 cont./

decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip /on mission/, an ɔbiamɛ̃ made it known that an Ampuku was willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:

--3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth, dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the ɔbiamɛ̃ would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the ɔbiamɛ̃, including a piece of canvas /toile/, beer, a container /bidon/ of powder, a chicken.

The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumɛ̃ti for protection; the Kumɛ̃ti occupy themselves only with illnesses.

/257 cont./

A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

No magic power is attributed to the tone pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods and men always have the character of a bargain, among the Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an obia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what god does this obia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care

1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kɨkɨti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 789 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔ́ɔgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of